

The National Security State and the Uses of Militarism

Appendix 1

Table 1. National Samples and Benchmarks

Variable	Israel		France		UK		US	
	Sample	Benchmark	Sample	Benchmark	Sample	Benchmark	Sample	Benchmark
Gender								
Female	51%	51%	51%	51%	53%	51%	51%	52%
Race/Ethnicity								
White	N/A	N/A	92%	N/A	88%	86%	72%	65%
Asian	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	6%	8%	N/A	N/A
Black	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	3%	3%	12%	12%
Hispanic	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	8%	15%
Ashkenazi	39%	44%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Mizrahi or Sephardi	39%	45%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Education & Age								
Education	59%	60%	25%	25%	65%	63%	34%	30%
Median Age	30-39	30-39			35-44	35-44	46	47
18-24 years old			8%	12%				
25-34 years old			19%	17%				
35-44 years old			18%	18%				
45-54 years old			19%	18%				
55+ years old			35%	35%				
Religious ID			8%	12%				
Secular	43%	43%			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Traditional	36%	36%			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Religious	11%	11%			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ultraorthodox	10%	10%			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Benchmarks: Israel — provided by iPanel, Lewin-Epstein and Cohen 2019; UK — 2011 Census; US — ANES 2016, CPS 2017.
Education: Israel = higher education; France = Baccalaureat & License; UK = A-level equivalent or above; US = Bachelors degree or above.
Age: Israel & UK = median; US = mean.

Table 2: Defense Spending and Prior Beliefs (Reference Category = Pay and Benefits)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
		US			UK			France	
Prior: Patriot	0.68*** (0.08)	0.48*** (0.07)	0.34*** (0.07)	0.34*** (0.07)	0.18** (0.07)	0.14* (0.07)	0.58** (0.16)	0.51** (0.16)	0.45** (0.16)
Prior: Citizen	0.29** (0.11)	0.27** (0.10)	0.13 (0.09)	0.03 (0.09)	0.07 (0.09)	0.04 (0.09)	0.45* (0.18)	0.41* (0.18)	0.35+ (0.18)
Prior: Desp	-0.30* (0.12)	-0.13 (0.11)	-0.13 (0.10)	-0.41*** (0.09)	-0.38*** (0.09)	-0.34*** (0.08)	0.28 (0.19)	0.29 (0.19)	0.25 (0.19)
ideo		0.90*** (0.12)	0.53*** (0.12)		0.41** (0.11)	0.17 (0.11)		0.39+ (0.22)	0.45+ (0.23)
hawk		1.10*** (0.02)	0.46** (0.02)		0.99*** (0.12)	0.69*** (0.12)		0.54* (0.23)	0.60* (0.24)
female		0.09 (0.06)	0.11+ (0.06)		-0.01 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)		0.03 (0.13)	-0.00 (0.13)
white		-0.03 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.07)		0.29** (0.09)	0.29** (0.09)		0.08 (0.25)	0.10 (0.25)
age		0.50*** (0.10)	0.31** (0.10)		0.37** (0.10)	0.27** (0.10)		0.32 (0.25)	0.24 (0.26)
edu		-0.39** (0.14)	-0.21 (0.13)		-0.23** (0.09)	-0.19* (0.08)		0.24 (0.25)	0.28 (0.25)
income		0.26+ (0.15)	0.17 (0.14)		0.00 (0.13)	-0.01 (0.13)		-0.27 (0.49)	-0.35 (0.49)
rwa			0.42* (0.18)			0.82*** (0.21)			0.75 (0.46)
sdo			0.25 (0.19)			-0.01 (0.21)			-0.73* (0.34)
bp			1.31*** (0.14)			0.77*** (0.15)			0.08 (0.34)
_cons	3.01*** (0.05)	1.85*** (0.13)	1.52*** (0.14)	3.54*** (0.04)	2.65*** (0.13)	2.05*** (0.17)	2.92*** (0.12)	2.26*** (0.31)	2.10*** (0.39)
N	1047	1047	1047	1048	1048	1048	218	218	218
R ²	0.093	0.258	0.341	0.052	0.175	0.224	0.063	0.112	0.145

Standard errors in parentheses. OLS.

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 3: Deference (Strategy) and Prior Beliefs (Reference Category = Pay and Benefits)

	(1)	(2) US	(3)	(4)	(5) UK	(6)	(7)	(8) France	(9)	(10)	(11) Israel	(12)
Prior: Pat	0.36** (0.11)	0.22* (0.11)	0.00 (0.10)	0.27** (0.10)	0.19+ (0.10)	0.11 (0.10)	0.34 (0.22)	0.31 (0.23)	0.07 (0.21)	0.35** (0.11)	0.17 (0.11)	0.07 (0.11)
Prior: Cit	0.26+ (0.15)	0.29* (0.14)	0.08 (0.14)	-0.05 (0.13)	0.01 (0.13)	-0.07 (0.13)	0.49* (0.25)	0.45+ (0.25)	0.24 (0.23)	0.25 (0.17)	0.13 (0.17)	0.01 (0.16)
Prior: Desp	-0.20 (0.17)	-0.03 (0.16)	-0.05 (0.15)	-0.43** (0.13)	-0.39** (0.13)	-0.37** (0.12)	-0.50+ (0.27)	-0.51+ (0.27)	-0.56* (0.25)			
Ideo		0.47** (0.18)	0.13 (0.18)		0.61** (0.16)	0.22 (0.16)		0.40 (0.32)	0.37 (0.30)		0.11 (0.21)	-0.22 (0.22)
hawk		1.03*** (0.03)	0.24 (0.03)		0.54** (0.17)	0.05 (0.18)		0.51 (0.33)	0.41 (0.31)		0.63** (0.22)	0.34 (0.22)
female		-0.09 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.09)		-0.11 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.08)		-0.13 (0.18)	-0.20 (0.17)		0.24* (0.10)	0.18+ (0.10)
white		0.14 (0.10)	0.14 (0.10)		0.11 (0.14)	0.13 (0.13)		0.19 (0.35)	0.32 (0.32)			
age		0.77*** (0.15)	0.49** (0.15)		0.35* (0.15)	0.20 (0.14)		0.47 (0.36)	0.05 (0.34)		0.79*** (0.19)	0.53** (0.18)
edu		-0.30 (0.21)	-0.03 (0.20)		-0.08 (0.13)	-0.03 (0.12)		-0.00 (0.35)	0.15 (0.33)		-0.76** (0.20)	-0.72** (0.20)
incom e		0.51* (0.22)	0.40+ (0.21)		0.44* (0.20)	0.36+ (0.19)		0.88 (0.69)	0.33 (0.64)		0.25 (0.21)	0.14 (0.20)
rwa			0.23 (0.27)			0.78** (0.30)			2.94*** (0.60)			0.50 (0.39)
sdo			-0.45 (0.28)			1.32*** (0.30)			-0.85+ (0.44)			-0.47 (0.38)
bp			2.20*** (0.22)			1.38*** (0.22)			1.04* (0.45)			2.58*** (0.44)
SorM ¹											0.31** (0.11)	0.16 (0.11)
relig ²											0.04 (0.16)	-0.10 (0.17)
_cons	4.77*** (0.07)	3.58*** (0.20)	3.26*** (0.20)	5.01*** (0.06)	4.20*** (0.20)	3.03*** (0.24)	4.81*** (0.16)	3.85*** (0.43)	2.28*** (0.51)	5.53*** (0.09)	4.79*** (0.30)	3.15*** (0.45)
N	1049	1049	1049	1048	1048	1048	218	218	218	540	514	514
R ²	0.016	0.101	0.199	0.023	0.070	0.153	0.063	0.114	0.261	0.018	0.126	0.194

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

¹ Sephardi or Mizrahi Respondents; only asked in Israel.² Religiosity; only asked in Israel.

Table 4: Soldier Compensation and Prior Beliefs (Reference Category = Pay and Benefits)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
		US			UK			France			Israel	
Prior: Pat	-0.32* (0.13)	-0.34* (0.13)	-0.50** (0.13)	-0.19 (0.12)	-0.06 (0.12)	-0.11 (0.12)	-0.54* (0.24)	-0.56* (0.25)	-0.61* (0.25)	-0.41** (0.13)	-0.53** (0.14)	-0.57*** (0.14)
Prior: Cit	0.11 (0.18)	-0.01 (0.18)	-0.19 (0.18)	-0.14 (0.16)	-0.12 (0.16)	-0.19 (0.16)	-0.10 (0.27)	-0.08 (0.27)	-0.11 (0.27)	-0.36+ (0.20)	-0.45* (0.21)	-0.51* (0.21)
Prior: Desp	-0.00 (0.21)	-0.01 (0.20)	-0.00 (0.20)	0.02 (0.16)	-0.01 (0.15)	0.02 (0.15)	-0.67* (0.29)	-0.65* (0.30)	-0.55+ (0.29)			
Ideo		-0.15 (0.22)	-0.71** (0.24)		0.19 (0.19)	-0.02 (0.19)		-0.09 (0.35)	-0.38 (0.35)			
hawk		0.91*** (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)		-0.45* (0.21)	-0.75** (0.22)		-0.24 (0.36)	-0.51 (0.36)		0.29 (0.27)	0.14 (0.28)
female		-0.54*** (0.11)	-0.48*** (0.11)		-0.28** (0.10)	-0.27** (0.10)		0.15 (0.20)	0.16 (0.20)		-0.34** (0.12)	-0.36** (0.13)
white		-0.42** (0.13)	-0.41** (0.13)		-0.49** (0.17)	-0.47** (0.16)		-0.04 (0.39)	0.03 (0.38)		0.09 (0.26)	-0.07 (0.28)
age		-0.64** (0.19)	-0.80*** (0.19)		-0.07 (0.17)	-0.15 (0.17)		-0.62 (0.39)	-0.85* (0.39)		0.16 (0.23)	0.03 (0.23)
edu		0.30 (0.26)	0.47+ (0.25)		0.70*** (0.15)	0.72*** (0.15)		0.06 (0.39)	0.11 (0.38)		0.03 (0.25)	0.05 (0.25)
income		0.46+ (0.28)	0.28 (0.27)		0.38 (0.24)	0.28 (0.24)		0.06 (0.76)	-0.19 (0.75)		-0.04 (0.26)	-0.10 (0.26)
rwa			0.21 (0.35)			-0.29 (0.37)			1.16+ (0.70)			-0.07 (0.49)
sdo			1.26** (0.35)			1.00** (0.38)			1.55** (0.52)			-0.25 (0.48)
bp			1.61*** (0.28)			1.22*** (0.27)			0.35 (0.52)			1.41* (0.56)
SorM ³											0.03 (0.13)	-0.05 (0.13)
relig ⁴											0.04 (0.20)	0.01 (0.21)
_cons	3.62*** (0.09)	3.76*** (0.25)	3.32*** (0.26)	3.92*** (0.07)	4.21*** (0.24)	3.72*** (0.30)	4.73*** (0.18)	5.11*** (0.48)	3.89*** (0.60)	5.30*** (0.10)	5.62*** (0.37)	4.92*** (0.58)
N	1049	1049	1049	1048	1048	1048	218	218	218	540	514	514
R ²	0.008	0.075	0.132	0.003	0.061	0.087	0.038	0.062	0.125	0.018	0.049	0.062

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

³ Sephardi or Mizrahi Respondents; only asked in Israel.⁴ Religiosity; only asked in Israel.

Table 5: Experimental Primes and DVs

	US			UK			France			Israel	
	(1) Defense Spending	(2) Deference	(3) Soldier Pay	(4) Defense Spending	(5) Deference	(6) Soldier Pay	(7) Defense Spending	(8) Deference	(9) Soldier Pay	(11) Deference	(12) Soldier Pay
patriot	0.07 (0.08)	0.10 (0.11)	-0.13 (0.14)	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.11)	-0.04 (0.12)	-0.18* (0.09)	-0.30* (0.12)	0.08 (0.14)		
citizen	0.05 (0.08)	0.04 (0.11)	-0.18 (0.14)	-0.03 (0.08)	0.07 (0.11)	-0.15 (0.12)	-0.14 (0.09)	-0.06 (0.12)	0.19 (0.14)		
desperate	-0.00 (0.08)	0.03 (0.11)	-0.16 (0.14)	0.01 (0.08)	0.16 (0.11)	-0.06 (0.12)	-0.11 (0.09)	-0.04 (0.13)	-0.03 (0.14)		
intrinsic										0.07 (0.08)	-0.11 (0.09)
_cons	3.26*** (0.06)	4.95*** (0.08)	3.77*** (0.10)	3.55*** (0.05)	4.97*** (0.07)	4.09*** (0.09)	3.42*** (0.06)	5.23*** (0.09)	4.36*** (0.10)	5.68*** (0.06)	5.13*** (0.06)
<i>N</i>	1401	1402	1402	1400	1400	1400	871	871	871	1085	1085
<i>R</i> ²	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.003	0.001	0.005	0.008	0.003	0.001	0.002

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 6: Experimental Primes and DVs with Prior Beliefs

	US			UK			France			Israel	
	(1) Defense Spending	(2) Deference	(3) Soldier Pay	(4) Defense Spending	(5) Deference	(6) Soldier Pay	(7) Defense Spending	(8) Deference	(9) Soldier Pay	(11) Deference	(12) Soldier Pay
patriot prime	0.06 (0.08)	0.09 (0.11)	-0.14 (0.14)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.10)	-0.05 (0.12)	-0.20* (0.09)	-0.32** (0.12)	0.08 (0.14)		
citizen prime	0.04 (0.08)	0.03 (0.11)	-0.17 (0.14)	-0.02 (0.07)	0.07 (0.10)	-0.16 (0.12)	-0.13 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.12)	0.19 (0.14)		
desperate prime	-0.03 (0.08)	0.00 (0.11)	-0.15 (0.14)	-0.01 (0.07)	0.14 (0.11)	-0.06 (0.12)	-0.12 (0.09)	-0.04 (0.12)	-0.01 (0.14)		
prior: patriot	0.60*** (0.07)	0.44*** (0.09)	-0.38** (0.12)	0.27*** (0.06)	0.08 (0.09)	-0.42*** (0.10)	0.42*** (0.08)	0.22+ (0.12)	-0.62*** (0.13)	0.48*** (0.09)	-0.13 (0.10)
prior: citizen	0.46*** (0.09)	0.28* (0.12)	-0.00 (0.15)	0.11 (0.09)	-0.11 (0.12)	-0.30* (0.14)	0.26** (0.09)	0.02 (0.12)	-0.49** (0.14)	0.49*** (0.11)	-0.21 (0.13)
prior: desperate	-0.33** (0.10)	-0.56*** (0.14)	-0.26 (0.18)	-0.54*** (0.08)	-0.56*** (0.12)	-0.29* (0.14)	-0.07 (0.10)	-0.36* (0.14)	-0.50** (0.17)		
intrinsic prime										0.08 (0.08)	-0.12 (0.09)
_cons	3.04*** (0.07)	4.83*** (0.09)	3.92*** (0.11)	3.54*** (0.06)	5.04*** (0.08)	4.27*** (0.10)	3.23*** (0.08)	5.21*** (0.12)	4.77*** (0.13)	5.38*** (0.07)	5.22*** (0.08)
<i>N</i>	1401	1402	1402	1400	1400	1400	871	871	871	1085	1085
<i>R</i> ²	0.086	0.041	0.010	0.053	0.022	0.014	0.048	0.028	0.030	0.033	0.004

Standard errors in parentheses
 + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 7: Soldier Approval of Operation & DV Operation Support

	(1) FRANCE	(2) FRANCE	(3) ISRAEL	(4) ISRAEL	(5) UK	(6) UK	(7) USA	(8) USA
soldier approval	0.94*** (0.13)	0.81*** (0.13)	1.48*** (0.13)	1.01*** (0.12)	0.95*** (0.12)	0.80*** (0.11)	1.17*** (0.11)	0.87*** (0.10)
citizen prime	0.10 (0.10)	0.16+ (0.10)	0.03 (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)	-0.26** (0.08)	-0.20** (0.07)	0.06 (0.08)	0.08 (0.08)
patriot prime	0.11 (0.10)	0.17+ (0.09)	N/A	N/A	-0.04 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.07)	0.06 (0.09)	0.03 (0.08)
pay/benefits prime	-0.05 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.10)	0.01 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.08)	0.00 (0.07)	0.09 (0.08)	0.05 (0.08)
desperate prime	0.16 (0.10)	0.18+ (0.10)	N/A	N/A	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.10 (0.07)	0.06 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)
prior: pay/ben		0.10 (0.10)	Base	Base		0.16* (0.08)		0.45*** (0.09)
prior: patriot		0.25** (0.10)		0.09+ (0.05)		0.11 (0.09)		0.40*** (0.10)
prior: citizen		0.22* (0.10)		0.15* (0.07)		0.23* (0.10)		0.35** (0.11)
ideology		0.14 (0.12)		0.46*** (0.11)		0.28** (0.10)		0.16 (0.11)
rwa		-0.23 (0.23)		0.23 (0.18)		0.24 (0.18)		0.48** (0.16)
sdo		0.08 (0.17)		-0.51** (0.18)		0.31+ (0.18)		-0.69*** (0.17)
bp		0.78*** (0.17)		1.88*** (0.23)		0.36** (0.14)		0.80*** (0.13)
miltherm		0.91*** (0.16)		0.54*** (0.14)		1.21*** (0.12)		0.82*** (0.12)
hawk		0.37** (0.12)		0.46*** (0.10)		0.63*** (0.11)		0.39** (0.11)
age		-0.17 (0.13)		0.20* (0.09)		0.11 (0.08)		0.09 (0.09)
education		0.04 (0.12)		0.12 (0.10)		0.05 (0.07)		0.02 (0.12)
income		-0.11 (0.24)		0.09 (0.10)		0.22* (0.11)		0.05 (0.13)
house service		0.06 (0.07)		N/A		0.05 (0.06)		0.05 (0.06)
personal service		0.20* (0.09)		0.04 (0.08)		-0.25* (0.11)		0.03 (0.09)
female		0.02 (0.07)		-0.18** (0.05)		-0.21*** (0.05)		-0.14** (0.06)
white		-0.17 (0.12)		N/A		-0.03 (0.08)		0.21** (0.06)
religiosity				-0.11 (0.09)				
Ashkenazi				-0.09 (0.09)				
Sephardi				0.01 (0.09)				

Mizrachi				0.01 (0.10)				
Mixed				0.19+ (0.10)				
_cons	3.58*** (0.11)	2.44*** (0.22)	4.59*** (0.11)	2.39*** (0.25)	3.67*** (0.08)	1.89*** (0.17)	3.77*** (0.08)	2.46*** (0.15)
N	1089	1089	1624	1506	2448	2448	2451	2451
R ²	0.051	0.176	0.081	0.287	0.030	0.162	0.049	0.166

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 8
“How much more/less should members of the UK armed forces be paid?”⁵

	Frequency	Percent
Much less	1	0.30
Somewhat less	13	3.87
Somewhat more	212	63.10
Much more	110	32.74

⁵ Question based on a survey deployed to a representative sample of the British public in May 2022.

Table 9. USA Prior Beliefs (DV) – Logistic Regression

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
		Patriot			Citizen			Pay/Benefits			Desperate	
mil therm	0.94*** (0.19)	0.80*** (0.20)	0.43* (0.20)	0.47+ (0.25)	0.56* (0.26)	0.33 (0.27)	-0.52** (0.17)	-0.51** (0.18)	-0.17 (0.19)	-1.40*** (0.27)	-1.11*** (0.28)	-0.91** (0.29)
ideo		1.06*** (0.17)	0.57** (0.19)		-0.55* (0.22)	-0.80** (0.24)		-0.25 (0.16)	0.17 (0.18)		-1.04** (0.27)	-0.59+ (0.30)
hawk		1.00*** (0.18)	0.43* (0.20)		0.62** (0.23)	0.20 (0.25)		-0.89*** (0.17)	-0.37* (0.19)		-0.83** (0.28)	-0.34 (0.31)
female		0.06 (0.09)	0.01 (0.09)		0.16 (0.12)	0.19 (0.12)		-0.01 (0.08)	0.02 (0.09)		-0.32* (0.14)	-0.30* (0.14)
white		0.34** (0.11)	0.36** (0.11)		-0.21 (0.13)	-0.23+ (0.13)		-0.11 (0.10)	-0.11 (0.10)		-0.14 (0.15)	-0.20 (0.15)
age		-0.06 (0.15)	-0.26+ (0.15)		-0.45* (0.20)	-0.47* (0.20)		0.55*** (0.14)	0.69*** (0.14)		-0.89** (0.24)	-0.77** (0.24)
edu		-1.02*** (0.21)	-0.74** (0.21)		0.05 (0.27)	0.16 (0.28)		0.60** (0.19)	0.36+ (0.20)		0.68* (0.32)	0.48 (0.32)
income		0.18 (0.22)	0.17 (0.22)		0.12 (0.28)	-0.00 (0.29)		-0.19 (0.20)	-0.15 (0.21)		-0.05 (0.33)	-0.01 (0.33)
rwa			1.26*** (0.29)			-0.10 (0.38)			-0.52* (0.26)			-0.94* (0.43)
sdo			-0.27 (0.29)			0.68+ (0.39)			0.14 (0.27)			-0.34 (0.47)
bp			1.33*** (0.23)			0.92** (0.31)			-1.43*** (0.22)			-0.54 (0.36)
_cons	-1.27*** (0.12)	-1.97*** (0.21)	-2.61*** (0.24)	-2.12*** (0.17)	-1.99*** (0.26)	-2.23*** (0.29)	0.03 (0.11)	0.11 (0.18)	0.47* (0.20)	-1.42*** (0.16)	-0.52+ (0.28)	-0.12 (0.31)
N	2451	2451	2451	2451	2451	2451	2451	2451	2451	2451	2451	2451
pseudo R ²	0.008	0.056	0.082	0.002	0.016	0.025	0.003	0.025	0.046	0.017	0.058	0.067

Standard errors in parentheses. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 10: USA Prior Beliefs (DV) – Logistic Regression

	(1)	(2) Patriot	(3)	(4)	(5) Citizen	(6)	(7)	(8) Pay/Benefits	(9)	(10)	(11) Desperate	(12)
mil	2.53***	2.45***	2.25***	0.06	0.27	0.14	0.01	0.03	0.21	-3.02***	-2.92***	-2.82***
therm	(0.26)	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.30)	(0.31)	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.24)	(0.26)	(0.27)
ideo		0.60**	0.50*		0.21	0.18		-0.28+	-0.18		-0.47+	-0.42+
		(0.19)	(0.20)		(0.24)	(0.25)		(0.16)	(0.17)		(0.24)	(0.25)
hawk		1.08***	0.88***		0.33	0.19		-0.98***	-0.83***		0.14	0.30
		(0.21)	(0.22)		(0.27)	(0.28)		(0.18)	(0.19)		(0.28)	(0.29)
female		0.20*	0.19+		0.20	0.19		0.01	0.01		-0.53***	-0.49**
		(0.10)	(0.10)		(0.13)	(0.13)		(0.09)	(0.09)		(0.13)	(0.13)
white		-0.37*	-0.36*		-0.29	-0.27		0.19	0.17		0.38+	0.37+
		(0.16)	(0.16)		(0.19)	(0.19)		(0.14)	(0.14)		(0.22)	(0.22)
age		-0.83***	-0.87***		-1.50***	-1.49***		1.31***	1.32***		-0.27	-0.29
		(0.17)	(0.17)		(0.23)	(0.23)		(0.15)	(0.15)		(0.23)	(0.23)
edu		-0.47**	-0.45**		-0.31	-0.32		0.41**	0.40**		0.11	0.09
		(0.16)	(0.16)		(0.20)	(0.20)		(0.13)	(0.13)		(0.20)	(0.20)
income		-0.79**	-0.79**		0.34	0.33		0.32	0.32		0.32	0.33
		(0.23)	(0.24)		(0.30)	(0.30)		(0.20)	(0.20)		(0.30)	(0.30)
rwa			0.13			-0.43			-0.01			0.38
			(0.38)			(0.48)			(0.32)			(0.48)
sdo			-0.32			0.35			-0.51			0.70
			(0.37)			(0.47)			(0.32)			(0.47)
bp			0.97**			0.67+			-0.59*			-0.80*
			(0.28)			(0.36)			(0.24)			(0.36)
_cons	-3.06***	-2.77***	-2.93***	-2.04***	-1.71***	-1.74***	-0.02	-0.53*	-0.28	0.18	0.16	-0.12
	(0.22)	(0.29)	(0.33)	(0.22)	(0.32)	(0.38)	(0.14)	(0.22)	(0.26)	(0.17)	(0.30)	(0.37)
N	2448	2448	2448	2448	2448	2448	2448	2448	2448	2448	2448	2448
pseudo	0.040	0.084	0.089	0.000	0.038	0.040	0.000	0.049	0.052	0.083	0.097	0.101
R ²												

Standard errors in parentheses
 + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 11: France Prior Beliefs (DV) – Logistic Regression

	(1)	(2) Patriot	(3)	(4)	(5) Citizen	(6)	(7)	(8) Pay/Benefits	(9)	(10)	(11) Desperate	(12)
miltherm	2.05*** (0.34)	1.85*** (0.36)	1.81*** (0.38)	0.89** (0.33)	1.24** (0.36)	1.06** (0.38)	-1.34*** (0.31)	-1.51*** (0.33)	-1.41*** (0.36)	-2.05*** (0.36)	-2.00*** (0.38)	-1.85*** (0.41)
ideo		0.69** (0.25)	0.81** (0.26)		-0.52* (0.27)	-0.59* (0.28)		0.18 (0.27)	0.04 (0.28)		-0.64+ (0.34)	-0.59+ (0.35)
hawk		0.69** (0.26)	0.76** (0.27)		-0.31 (0.27)	-0.38 (0.28)		-0.78** (0.28)	-0.94** (0.30)		0.42 (0.35)	0.59 (0.36)
female		0.06 (0.14)	0.07 (0.14)		0.57** (0.15)	0.57** (0.15)		-0.67*** (0.15)	-0.66*** (0.15)		0.07 (0.18)	0.03 (0.19)
white		0.15 (0.27)	0.13 (0.27)		0.21 (0.28)	0.22 (0.28)		-0.26 (0.27)	-0.27 (0.27)		-0.25 (0.31)	-0.24 (0.31)
age		-0.40 (0.28)	-0.34 (0.28)		-0.26 (0.29)	-0.33 (0.29)		0.42 (0.30)	0.43 (0.30)		0.45 (0.37)	0.46 (0.37)
edu		-0.09 (0.26)	-0.12 (0.27)		0.08 (0.27)	0.10 (0.28)		-0.59* (0.29)	-0.60* (0.29)		0.83* (0.33)	0.85* (0.33)
income		-0.28 (0.54)	-0.28 (0.54)		0.03 (0.56)	-0.06 (0.57)		-0.10 (0.58)	-0.13 (0.59)		0.53 (0.68)	0.66 (0.68)
rwa			-0.68 (0.52)			0.51 (0.54)			0.07 (0.55)			0.28 (0.64)
sdo			-0.53 (0.39)			0.14 (0.41)			1.01* (0.42)			-0.50 (0.50)
bp			0.53 (0.37)			0.36 (0.39)			-0.50 (0.40)			-0.61 (0.49)
_cons	-2.24*** (0.27)	-2.68*** (0.40)	-2.40*** (0.46)	-1.68*** (0.26)	-1.92*** (0.40)	-2.26*** (0.47)	-0.11 (0.22)	0.75* (0.38)	0.60 (0.44)	-0.33 (0.25)	-0.56 (0.43)	-0.42 (0.51)
N	1089	1089	1089	1089	1089	1089	1089	1089	1089	1089	1089	1089
pseudo R ²	0.029	0.046	0.049	0.006	0.025	0.027	0.015	0.050	0.055	0.035	0.051	0.055

Standard errors in parentheses
 + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 12: Israel Prior Beliefs (DV) – Logistic Regression

	(1)	(2) Patriot	(3)	(4)	(5) Citizen	(6)	(7)	(8) Pay/Benefits	(9)
miltherm	1.99*** (0.27)	1.61*** (0.30)	1.33*** (0.33)	1.50** (0.40)	1.38** (0.44)	1.23* (0.48)	-2.65*** (0.27)	-2.23*** (0.29)	-1.88*** (0.32)
ideo		0.64** (0.23)	0.47+ (0.25)		-0.29 (0.31)	-0.43 (0.33)		-0.54* (0.24)	-0.27 (0.26)
hawk		-0.08 (0.23)	-0.14 (0.23)		-0.14 (0.31)	-0.18 (0.31)		0.21 (0.24)	0.30 (0.25)
female		0.06 (0.11)	0.07 (0.11)		-0.05 (0.14)	-0.05 (0.15)		-0.03 (0.11)	-0.04 (0.12)
1.SorM		0.17 (0.11)	0.15 (0.11)		-0.40** (0.15)	-0.40** (0.15)		0.04 (0.12)	0.08 (0.12)
religiosity		0.03 (0.18)	0.01 (0.19)		0.35 (0.24)	0.33 (0.25)		-0.24 (0.19)	-0.20 (0.20)
age		1.14*** (0.19)	1.11*** (0.20)		0.60* (0.26)	0.59* (0.26)		-1.67*** (0.21)	-1.64*** (0.21)
edu		0.59** (0.22)	0.58** (0.22)		-0.69* (0.29)	-0.71* (0.29)		-0.22 (0.23)	-0.19 (0.23)
income		0.04 (0.22)	-0.00 (0.23)		0.41 (0.31)	0.37 (0.31)		-0.26 (0.23)	-0.20 (0.23)
rwa			-0.22 (0.42)			0.00 (0.56)			0.23 (0.44)
sdo			0.27 (0.41)			0.56 (0.56)			-0.61 (0.43)
bp			1.31* (0.54)			0.71 (0.73)			-1.75** (0.54)
_cons	-1.81*** (0.23)	-2.85*** (0.38)	-3.48*** (0.53)	-2.97*** (0.36)	-2.53*** (0.52)	-3.08*** (0.72)	1.70*** (0.23)	2.56*** (0.38)	3.52*** (0.54)
N	1659	1557	1557	1659	1557	1557	1659	1557	1557
pseudo R ²	0.027	0.050	0.053	0.011	0.026	0.027	0.052	0.085	0.091

Standard errors in parentheses
 + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

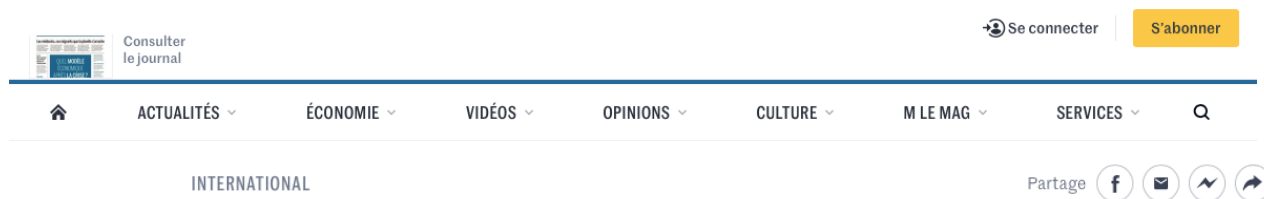
Table 13: Treatment Check Data – Percent of Respondents Answering Check Correctly

Prime	France	Israel	UK	US
Pay/benefits	60%	78%	72%	86%
Desperate	44%	N/A	69%	73%
Patriot	51%	78%	59%	56%
Citizen	70%		75%	85%

The National Security State and the Uses of Militarism

Appendix 2 –Vignettes

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La France considère l'envoi de troupes en Martésie

Publié aujourd'hui à 14h03

Philippe Dupont est l'un des 1 500 membres de l'armée française en attente d'éventuels ordres qui les déploieraient en Martésie. Face aux attaques au-delà de sa frontière sud, la Martésie a demandé aux Forces françaises de renforcer ses défenses. Les autorités françaises soutiennent cette intervention car elle permettrait d'honorer leur traité avec la Martésie, renforcerait le droit international, et ferait avancer les intérêts stratégiques de la France...

« Après l'obtention de mon baccalauréat, les Forces armées semblaient être un moyen comme les autres de payer les factures », a déclaré Dupont lorsqu'on lui a demandé pourquoi il s'était enrôlé. « J'ai reçu un bon salaire dès le début. J'ai été séduit par l'idée d'acquérir des compétences qui pourraient m'aider plus tard. Et j'ai aimé que le contribuable français me subventionne pour suivre toutes sortes de formations, y compris pour obtenir un diplôme. Je ne peux pas en dire autant de nombreux autres emplois ! » La plupart des membres de son peloton se sont engagés pour les mêmes raisons, ajoute-t-il. De récents sondages montrent que les motivations de Dupont à s'inscrire pour le service militaire sont typiques...



« Les forces armées semblaient être un bon moyen de payer les factures ».

Soldat français
Philippe Dupont

Si Dupont est déployé, il dit : « je m'attends à être en Martésie pendant environ douze mois ».

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« D'où je viens, si vous voulez avoir une chance de faire quelque chose de votre vie, votre seul choix ce sont les Forces armées », a déclaré Dupont lorsqu'on lui a demandé pourquoi il s'était engagé. « Je voulais à tout prix ne pas finir comme certains des gars avec qui je suis allé au lycée, et je ne voyais pas d'autres moyens que de rejoindre l'armée ». La plupart des membres de son peloton se sont engagés pour les mêmes raisons, ajoute-t-il. De récents sondages montrent que les motivations de Dupont à s'inscrire pour le service militaire sont typiques...



« J'étais désespéré... Je ne voyais pas d'autres moyens que de rejoindre l'armée ».

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« J'aime mon pays. Je veux défendre la France comme tant d'autres l'ont fait avant moi, et je veux rendre mon pays fier », a déclaré Dupont lorsqu'on lui a demandé pourquoi il s'était engagé. « Choisir de servir dans les Forces armées françaises me semblait juste être la bonne chose à faire en tant que Français ». La plupart des membres de son peloton se sont engagés pour les mêmes raisons, ajoute-t-il. De récents sondages montrent que les motivations de Dupont à s'inscrire pour le service militaire sont typiques...



« Je suis un patriote... Je veux rendre mon pays fier ».

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« Je me suis enrôlé dans l'armée parce que j'avais l'impression que c'était mon devoir en tant que citoyen », a déclaré Dupont lorsqu'on lui a demandé pourquoi il s'était engagé. « Je sentais que je n'avais pas d'autres choix que de servir dans les Forces armées françaises—comme tant d'autres français avant moi. En tant que citoyen, il est de mon devoir de défendre mon pays ». La plupart des membres de son peloton se sont engagés pour les mêmes raisons, ajoute-t-il. De récents sondages montrent que les motivations de Dupont à s'inscrire pour le service militaire sont typiques...



« Je me suis enrôlé... parce que j'avais l'impression que c'était mon devoir en tant que citoyen ».

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Si Dupont est déployé, il dit : « je m'attends à être en Martésie pendant environ douze mois ».

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La Martésie est un pays dont la population est d'environ 15 millions d'habitants. Environ 1 million d'habitants résident dans la capitale. Le pays est membre de la plupart des grandes organisations internationales, dont les Nations Unies et l'Organisation mondiale du commerce. La Martésie possède un climat et une géographie variés, ainsi qu'une économie équilibrée, avec des secteurs agricoles et industriels importants. Les responsables gouvernementaux aspirent également à développer les technologies de pointe dans le pays. La Martésie abrite l'une des plus anciennes universités de la région...



« Je m'attends à être en Martésie pendant environ douze mois ».

Soldat français
Philippe Dupont

Si Dupont est déployé, il dit : « je m'attends à être en Martésie pendant environ douze mois ».



פוליטי-מדיני

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'השקט מטעה – אבל לא אותנו'

הצצה נדירה אל חיי הלוחמים של היחידה המובחרת האחראית על "מבצעים מיוחדים" בלבנון: פרויקט מיוחד

הצצה נדירה בחיי הלוחמים של היחידה המובחרת האחראית על "מבצעים מיוחדים" בלבנון: פרויקט מיוחד

על רקע החלטת הדרג המדיני להפעיל כוחות מיוחדים כדי לחסל את "המנהיג הבכיר" של ארגון החיזבאללה, מדברים הלוחמים על שגרה של כוננות מתמדת ועל המחיר הוודאי של החיסול – טילים על ישראל, פתיחה מחדש של החזית הצפונית ואף סכנה למלחמה כוללת נגד איראן.

...

בחדר המבצעים של המוצב פגשתי את סרן ד', סגן מפקד היחידה. "ההמתנה לפני מבצע זה החלק הכי קשה", הוא מסביר. "ברגע שיוצאים לדרך אנחנו ממוקדים רק במטרה".

אנחנו משוחחים על חייו האישיים ועל ההחלטה לצאת לקורס קצינים: "כמו כל הקצינים כאן, גם אני לקחתי בחשבון את השיקול הכלכלי", הוא מספר. "כשאתה משתחרר הדלתות נפתחות. יש לך עדיפות ברורה בשוק העבודה ואתה מחובר לאנשים הנכונים".

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סרן ד'



אנחנו ממשיכים לדבר על המשימה "אנחנו מוכנים למבצע", הוא מסביר. "ברור לי שזה מסוכן, אבל זאת העבודה, זה המקצוע שלי".



פוליטי-מדיני

צבא וביטחון • מדיני • המערכת הפוליטית • פלסטינים • טורים ופרשנות

'השקט מטעה – אבל לא אותנו'

הצצה נדירה אל חיי הלוחמים של היחידה המובחרת האחראית על "מבצעים מיוחדים" בלבנון: פרויקט מיוחד

הצצה נדירה בחיי הלוחמים של היחידה המובחרת האחראית על "מבצעים מיוחדים" בלבנון: פרויקט מיוחד

על רקע החלטת הדרג המדיני להפעיל כוחות מיוחדים כדי לחסל את "המנהיג הבכיר" של ארגון החיזבאללה, מדברים הלוחמים על שגרה של כוננות מתמדת ועל המחיר הוודאי של החיסול – טילים על ישראל, פתיחה מחדש של החזית הצפונית ואף סכנה למלחמה כוללת נגד איראן.

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סרן ד'



אנחנו ממשיכים לדבר על המשימה "אנחנו מוכנים למבצע", הוא מסביר. "ברור לי שזה מסוכן, אבל זה בדיוק מה שפטריוט צריך לעשות".



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אנחנו משוחחים על השהות במוצב: "כמו כל הקצינים כאן, גם אני הגעתי כמה ימים לפני שהלוחמים והמפקדה הגיעו", הוא מספר. "התארגנו בדיוק כשהתחילה הסופה אבל עכשיו מזג האוויר יותר נוח".

"התארגנו בדיוק
כשהתחילה הסופה אבל
עכשיו מזג האוויר יותר
נוח".

סרן ד'



אנחנו ממשיכים לדבר על המשימה "אנחנו מוכנים למבצע", הוא מסביר. "ברור לי שזה מסוכן, אבל זו המשימה שלנו ואנחנו נבצע אותה בלי קשר לשאלה מה יהיה מזג האוויר".

POLITICS | 15 April 2019 | 17:30 GMT

UK Weighs Sending Troops to Martesia



Luke Baker is one of roughly 500 members of the British Army waiting for possible orders that would send them into Martesia. Facing attacks across its southern border, Martesia has requested UK forces to bolster its defences. British officials support intervention because it would uphold the UK treaty with Martesia, strengthen international law, and further Britain's strategic interests...

"After my GCSEs, the Armed Forces seemed like as good a way as any to pay the bills," Baker says when asked why he joined. "I got good pay early-on. I liked the idea of learning skills that can help me later. And I liked that the Great British taxpayer will subsidise me to study for all sorts of qualifications, even up to degree level. Can't say that about many other jobs!" Most of his platoon joined up for the same reason, he adds. Recent surveys show that Baker's motives in signing up for military service are typical...



"The Armed Forces seemed like as good a way as any to pay the bills."

**British soldier
Luke Baker**

If Baker is deployed, he says, "I expect to be in Martesia for about twelve months."

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"Where I'm from, if you want to have any chance of doing something with your life, your only choice is the Armed Forces," Baker says when asked why he joined. "I was desperate not to end up like some of the lads I went to secondary school with, and I didn't see any other way except to join the Army." Most of his platoon joined up for the same reason, he adds. Recent surveys show that Baker's motives in signing up for military service are typical...



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"I'm patriotic. I want to defend Great Britain like so many before me have done, and I want to do my country proud," Baker says when asked why he joined. "Choosing to serve in the UK Armed Forces just seemed like the right thing to do. It's part of what being British is all about." Most of his platoon joined up for the same reason, he adds. Recent surveys show that Baker's motives in signing up for military service are typical...



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"I signed up for the Army because I felt like it was my duty as a citizen," Baker says when asked why he joined. "I felt like I had no choice but to serve in the British Armed Forces – like so many other Brits before me. As a citizen, I have a responsibility to defend my country." Most of his platoon joined up for the same reason, he adds. Recent surveys show that Baker's motives in signing up for military service are typical...



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Martesias is a country with a population of roughly 15 million people. Around 1 million reside in the capital. It is a member of most major international organisations, including the United Nations and the World Trade Organization. Martesia has a varied climate and geography and a balanced economy, with substantial agricultural and industrial sectors. Government officials aspire to develop the country's high-tech sector as well. Martesia is also home to one of the oldest universities in the region...



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POLITICS | 15 April 2019 | 17:30 GMT

UK Weighs Sending Troops to Martesia



Luke Baker is one of roughly 500 members of the British Army waiting for possible orders that would send them into Martesia. Violence against civilians in Martesia has been intensifying, and the resulting refugee crisis has been destabilising its neighbours. Senior British officials say that Martesia is at the top of their genocide watch list. In the absence of UK intervention, they fear that violence could spiral out of control...

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POLITICS | 15 April 2019 | 17:30 GMT

UK Weighs Sending Troops to Martesia



Luke Baker is one of roughly 500 members of the British Army waiting for possible orders that would send them to defend against a surging Islamic State affiliate in Martesia. Martesia has recently faced a growing terrorist threat. Senior British officials say that the Islamic State affiliate there is unusually capable and well-financed. In the absence of Western intervention, they fear that Martesia's government will be overthrown and that the terrorists will then have a launching pad for attacks against Britain and other Western nations...

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"I expect to be in Martesia for about twelve months"

**British soldier
Luke Baker**

If Baker is deployed, he says, "I expect to be in Martesia for about twelve months."

Pay-and-Benefits Treatment—Baseline Mission



POLITICS | August 15, 2018 | 5:30pm EDT

U.S. Weighs Sending Troops to Martesia



Michael Cameron is one of roughly 2,500 members of the US military waiting for a possible “go” order that would send them to Martesia. Facing attacks across its southern border, Martesia, a long-standing US ally, has requested US forces to bolster its defenses. US officials support intervention because it would uphold the treaty with Martesia, strengthen international law, and further America's strategic interests...

“After high school, the service seemed like as good a way as any to pay the bills,” Cameron says when asked why he joined. “I got a pretty nice signing bonus. I liked the idea of learning skills that can help me later. And I liked that Uncle Sam would help pay for college. Can’t say that about many other jobs!” Most of his battalion joined up for the same reason, he adds. Recent surveys show that Cameron’s motives in signing up for military service are typical...



“The service seemed like as good a way as any to pay the bills.”

**U.S. soldier
Michael Cameron**

If Cameron is deployed, he says, “I expect to be in Martesia for about twelve months.”

Desperate Treatment—Baseline Mission



POLITICS | August 15, 2018 | 5:30pm EDT

U.S. Weighs Sending Troops to Martesia



Michael Cameron is one of roughly 2,500 members of the US military waiting for a possible “go” order that would send them to Martesia. Facing attacks across its southern border, Martesia, a long-standing US ally, has requested US forces to bolster its defenses. US officials support intervention because it would uphold the treaty with Martesia, strengthen international law, and further America's strategic interests...

“Where I’m from, if you want to have any chance of doing something with your life, your only choice is the service,” Cameron says when asked why he joined. “I was desperate not to wind up like some of the guys I went to high school with, and I didn’t see any other way except to enlist.” Most of his battalion joined up for the same reason, he adds. Recent surveys show that Cameron’s motives in signing up for military service are typical...



*“I was desperate ...
and I didn’t see any
other way except to
enlist.”*

**U.S. soldier
Michael Cameron**

If Cameron is deployed, he says, “I expect to be in Martesia for about twelve months.”

Patriot Treatment—Baseline Mission



POLITICS | August 15, 2018 | 5:30pm EDT

U.S. Weighs Sending Troops to Martesia



Michael Cameron is one of roughly 2,500 members of the US military waiting for a possible “go” order that would send them to Martesia. Facing attacks across its southern border, Martesia, a long-standing US ally, has requested US forces to bolster its defenses. US officials support intervention because it would uphold the treaty with Martesia, strengthen international law, and further America's strategic interests...

“I’m a patriot. I want to defend the United States like so many other Americans before me, and I want to do my country proud,” Cameron says when asked why he joined. “Choosing to serve in the US military just seemed like the right thing to do. It’s what being an American is all about.” Most of his battalion joined up for the same reason, he adds. Recent surveys show that Cameron’s motives in signing up for military service are typical...



“I’m a patriot ... I want to do my country proud.”

**U.S. soldier
Michael Cameron**

If Cameron is deployed, he says, “I expect to be in Martesia for about twelve months.”

Good Citizen Treatment—Baseline Mission



POLITICS | August 15, 2018 | 5:30pm EDT

U.S. Weighs Sending Troops to Martesia



Michael Cameron is one of roughly 2,500 members of the US military waiting for a possible “go” order that would send them to Martesia. Facing attacks across its southern border, Martesia, a long-standing US ally, has requested US forces to bolster its defenses. US officials support intervention because it would uphold the treaty with Martesia, strengthen international law, and further America's strategic interests...

“I signed up for the service because I felt like it was my duty as a citizen,” Cameron says when asked why he joined. “I believe I had no choice but to serve in our nation’s military—like so many other Americans before me. As a citizen, I have a responsibility to defend my country.” Most of his battalion joined up for the same reason, he adds. Recent surveys show that Cameron’s motives in signing up for military service are typical...



“I signed up ... because I felt like it was my duty as a citizen.”

**U.S. soldier
Michael Cameron**

If Cameron is deployed, he says, “I expect to be in Martesia for about twelve months.”

Control Treatment—Baseline Mission



POLITICS | August 15, 2018 | 5:30pm EDT

U.S. Weighs Sending Troops to Martesia



Michael Cameron is one of roughly 2,500 members of the US military waiting for a possible “go” order that would send them to Martesia. Facing attacks across its southern border, Martesia, a long-standing US ally, had requested US forces to bolster its defenses. US officials supported the intervention in order to uphold the treaty with Martesia, strengthen international law, and further America's strategic interests...

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“I expect to be in Martesia for about twelve months.”

**U.S. soldier
Michael Cameron**

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Control Treatment—Security Mission (Counterterrorism)



U.S. Weighs Sending Troops to Martesia



Michael Cameron is one of roughly 2,500 members of the US military waiting for a possible “go” order that would send them to defend against a surging Islamic State affiliate in Martesia. A long-standing US ally in the War on Terror, Martesia has recently faced a growing terrorist threat. Senior US officials say that the Islamic State affiliate there is unusually capable and well-financed. In the absence of US intervention, they fear that Martesia’s government would be overthrown and that the terrorists would have a launching pad for attacks against the United States and other Western nations...

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“I expect to be in Martesia for about twelve months.”
U.S. soldier
Michael Cameron

If Cameron is deployed, he says, “I expect to be in Martesia for about twelve months.”

Control Treatment—Humanitarian Mission (Genocide)



POLITICS | August 15, 2018 | 5:30pm EDT

U.S. Weighs Sending Troops to Martesia



Michael Cameron is one of roughly 2,500 members of the US military waiting for a possible “go” order that would send them to prevent genocide in Martesia. Violence against civilians in Martesia has been intensifying, and the resulting refugee crisis has been destabilizing its neighbors. Senior US officials say that Martesia is at the top of their genocide watch list. In the absence of US intervention, they fear that violence could spiral out of control...

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